Ulster Betrayed

The
Startling Admissions of
Eoin MacNeill

By

FATHER ISIDORE B. MOONEY.

[NOTE.—The clearest proof that the indiscreet admissions made by Prof. MacNeill to Father Mooney were founded on fact, is that the Free State Government moved to set up the Boundary Commission only when they announced a General Election.

If they had not already pledged themselves to abandon the North-Eastern Counties, they could long ago have enforced Clause 12 of the Treaty, if it can be enforced. If Ulster is to be saved from permanent partition, the people of Ireland must turn out the men who have been parties to this betrayal.]

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ULSTER BETRAYED.

Press Conspiracy Against Truth.

The enclosed letter was handed by me to the representative of the editorial department of the *Irish Independent* on Friday, May 18, 1923. I was then told that the paper would be only too glad to publish it; for they knew of the reality of " the betrayal of the North " that it revealed and of the ruinous consequences of this betrayal not only to the North, but to the whole of Ireland; but that they dare not publish the letter without submitting it to the publicity department of the Free State. If they did publish it without doing so, their office would be closed next day, but that, if the publicity authorities refused to allow its insertion, they would return the manuscript and the Government's answer. I waited for a week, and then, at the *Independent* Office, I was told by another representative of its editorial department that the publicity authorities of the Free State would not allow my letter's insertion. I complained to both these gentlemen of the editorial department of the dishonesty of the *Independent* newspapers in co-operating with the Free State Government in deceiving the people about this terrible betrayal of the North. For both the *Herald* and *Independent* had inserted statements and published articles importing that no such betrayal had ever occurred. Next day I received back my manuscript with the editor's compliments, but not a word about the publicity department forbidding its insertion.

Here is the letter:

BETRAYAL OF THE NORTH.

To the Editor, " Irish Independent."

Sir,—Early in April, 1922, Dr. MacNeill, T.D., now Free State Minister of Education, informed me that the Free State Government had come to the decision of freely handing Fermanagh, Tyrone, South Armagh and South and East Down to Sir James Craig's Government of North-Eastern Ulster, without waiting for any Boundary Commission; that the thing was already completed on or about March 30 at a Conference held in London between Michael Collins, Sir James Craig and Winston Churchill; that this agreement was fully ratified by the Free State Government in Dublin.

Dr. MacNeill also informed me at the same time of other most important facts connected with this transaction.

Without any information from me, the whole details of this Free State "betrayal of the North," by annulling the Boundary Commission, were revealed in two long articles in the *Plain People* newspaper of May 14 and 21, 1922, but the sale of copies of these issues was impeded by agents of the Free State Government, and the paper was, almost immediately after, suppressed.

(Rev.) ISIDORE B. MOONEY.

Dublin, May 18, 1923.

The facts above stated can leave no reasonable doubt on anyone's mind that the Boundary Commission Clause of the 12th Article of the London Treaty was scrapped by our Free State Provisional Government in March, 1922, a little over three months after the Treaty was signed and accepted by them. If, however, there be still any shadow of doubt on anyone's mind about this base betrayal, it must, as even the *Irish Independent* in its leading article of April 11 last implies, be for ever dissolved by the statements of Sir James Craig on April 9, speaking in the name of the Six-County Government, and declaring that not a foot of the six counties would ever come under the control of the Southern Free State Government; by Lord Derby, British Minister of War, giving on that occasion his sanction and approval to that same declaration as a matter of fact; and by the Free State Government in establishing a Customs Frontier which handed over every inch of the six North-Eastern Counties to Sir James Craig's Orange and Freemason Government, and every Nationalist man, woman, and child of the six counties to their tyrannical domination. All this, surely, makes the cancellation of the Boundary Commission Clause of the Treaty an undoubted certainty.

Then, how could either Craig's or Cosgrave's Government pretend to fix, as they do, their respective financial obligations, liabilities and resources unless their boundaries are already known and fixed? This again proves that the Boundary Commission Clause is now cancelled. For, under that clause, if it still existed, the ports of Derry and Newry would undoubtedly pass from under the control of Craig's Government to that of Cosgrave's. This would draw all the business, and all the trade and traffic—both by sea and rail—of Southern, Midland and Western Ireland, and fully one-half of that of Ulster and all the revenues accruing therefrom, from Belfast to these two ports, and from Craig's Government to that of Cosgrave. Similarly, the Boundary Commission Clause, if it were not cancelled, would have also to change from Craig's domination to that of Cosgrave, Fermanagh, Tyrone, Derry City, South Armagh and South and East Down, with their flax-growing and linen-manufacturing and other industries and mines, and accruing revenues which make these districts the Ruhr of Ireland.

This, therefore, would cause the Boundary Commission to revolutionise every obligation, liability and financial resource set up, or being set up, by both regimes, North and South; and this again makes it plain as a pikestaff that the idea of submitting their case to that Commission no longer exists in either camp.

But what does all this mean? Simply the complete nullification of the London Articles of Agreement of December, 1921. This last fact is clearly established by the Free State authorities themselves. For they tell us, as we see in the *Dublin Evening Herald* of June 4, and in the *Irish Independent,* of June 6, that this Boundary Commission Clause is a *vital* one, but for which the Treaty would never have been signed. The destruction, therefore, of its vital element, but for which that Treaty could never have existed, must, surely, destroy and end the Treaty's existence.

I should not have considered myself obliged to go so fully into this matter were it not for the falsehood—to the effect that the Boundary Commission Clause of the Treaty still remains uncancelled—spread and propagated by the censored and mendacious Free State Press and by the Free State spokesmen. With regard to the statements of the Press on this matter, every reader can now see their falsehoods for himself. In connection with the misstatements on the subject of the Free State spokesmen—whose numbers are legion, but many of whom evidently knew nothing about what they were discoursing, I need only mention those of Kevin O'Higgins, Free State Minister of Home Affairs. He again and again repeated his unfounded statements on this matter, and actually called together many reporters, home and foreign, in order to have his misstatements on the subject—misstatements which were deliberate on his part, for he at least knew the real facts of the Boundary Commission being cancelled—broadcasted to the world as genuine truths.

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